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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-25 EA-11 IO-14 NEAE-00 SAJ-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19

NIC-01 AID-20 COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02 TRSE-00 XMB-07

OPIC-12 CIEP-02 LAB-06 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-08 CEA-02

AGR-20 INT-08 CU-04 DRC-01 /266 W

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P R 211445Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8003

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY COLOMBBG

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USLO PEKING

USUN NEW YORK 1582

USMISSION NATO

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL MADRAS

CINCPAC

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EGEN IN UR
SUBJECT: BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO INDIA

REF: NEW DELHI 9693

SUMMARY: PREPARATIONS AND ADVANCE CONSULTATIONS FOR BREZHNEV'S FORTHCOMING VISIT ARE IN FULL SWING IN DELHI. THE INDIANS APPEAR TO BE PREOCCUPIED WITH GETTING SOLID ECONOMIC COMMITMENTS FROM THE SOVIETS DURING THE VISIT. THE SOVIETS MAY BE MORE FORTHCOMING THAN IN RECENT YEARS IN ORDER TO REINFORCE THEIR PRSTIGE AND INFLUENCE IN INDIA AND TO GUARANTEE A RESOUNDINGLY SUCCESSFUL JOURNEY FOR THEIR LEADER. THE INDIANS TOO MAY HVE TO GIVE TO GET AND A KEY QUESTION MAY BE HOW MUCH ARE THEY PREPARED TO GIVE POLITICALLY TO MEET SOVIET OBJECTIVES. WHILE THE INDIANS APPEAR CAUTIOUS AS EVER ON ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY, AGREEMENT ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN ASIA EMERGING FROM THE BREZHNEV VISIT MAY BE PLAYED BY THE SOVIETS AS AN ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR ASIAN POLICIES. THE SOVIETS AND INDIAN ALLIES ARE GOING ALL OUT TO BUILD ENTHUSIASM AND PUBLICITY FOR THE VISIT WHICH IS SHAPING UP AS THE MAJOR EVENT IN DELHI THIS YEAR. END SUMMARY

1. WITH PREPARATIONS FOR BREZHNEV'S NOVEMBER 26-30 VISIT TO DELHI IN FULL SWING, OUR CONTACTS AND THE PRESS PLAY HERE POINT TO AN OVERRIDING INTEREST ON THE PART OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN GETTING AN ECONOMIC PAYOFF OUT OF THE FORTHCOMING TALKS. THE INDIANS APPEAR TO BE LOOKING FOR INCREASED EXPORTS OF NON-TRADITIONAL ITEMS, INCREASED IMPORTS OF MATERIALS IN SHORT SUPPLY HERE, FIRM SOVIET COMMITMENTS TO INDIA'S FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN, MORE LIBERAL CREDIT TERMS, AND POSSIBLY RESCHEDULING OF EXISTING DEBT. THE INDIANS WILL PROBABLY TRY TO PIN THE SOVIETS TO FIRM UNDERTAKINGS IN THESE AREAS.

2. IN RECENT YEARS THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN TOUGH, HARD BARGAINERS WITH THE INDIANS ON THE ECONOMIC ASPCTS OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS. BUT THE TWO MILLION TON WHEAT LOAN AND COMMENTS BY SOVIETS HERE SUGGEST THAT MOSCOW WILL BE MORE FLEXIBLE AND FORTHCOMING AT THIS STAGE IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF BREZHNEV'S VISIT. SOVIET SOURCES HAVE SAID PRIVATELY THAT BREZHNEV WILL HAVE SOME PLAIN TALK FOR THE INDIANS ON THEIR FAILURES TO PUT PAST SOVIET AID TO GOOD USE AND THEIR POOR MANAGEMENT OF SOVIET ASSISTED
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PUBLIC SECTOR PROJECTS. THE SOVIETS ARE CERTAINLY AWARE OF A GROWING INDIAN CONCERN ABOUT THE LARGE INDIAN TRADE SURPLUS AND THE NEGATIVE AID FLOW WHICH MAY HAVE MADE INDIA A NET LENDER OF RESOURCES TO THE USSR. THE KEY QUESTION IS HOW FAR THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO GO IN REAL TERMS TO MEET THIS CONCERN. RESCHEDULING OF CURRENT DEBT OR A FRESH AID COMMITMENT WOULD MAKE A BIG SPLASH BUT WOULD BE VIRTUALLY MEANINGLESS IN THE ABSNCE OF A MAJOR STEP TO TURN THE RESOURCE FLOW AROUND. A SOLID SOVIET

COMMITMENT TO SUPPLY LARGER QUANTITIES OF BASIC ECONOMIC INPUTS -- PETROLEUM, FERTILIZER, NEWSPRINT, NON-FERROUS METALS -- OR SOPHISTICATED CAPITAL OR MILITARY GOODS WOULD BE SUCH A STEP. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN HINTS THAT SOME SORT OF NEW AGREEMENT ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DOVETAILING OF PLANNING MAY BE A MAJOR RESULT OF THE TALKS WITH BREZHNEV.

3. ADVANCE CONSULTATIONS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF THE VISIT ARE NOW UNDERWAY IN NEW DELHI BETWEEN SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS AND A HIGH-LEVEL SOVIET DELEGATION LED BY GOSPLAN HEAD BEIBAKOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC RELATIONS SKATCHKOV, AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER PEGOV. THE INDIAN PRESS HAS NOTED FAVORABLY AND WITH CONSIDERABLE EXPECTATION THE ECONOMIC CLOUT OF THE SOVIET ADVANCE TEAM. ACCORDING TO SOVIET SOURCES, THE DELEGATION IS BOTH AT A HIGHER LEVEL AND ARRIVED EARLIER THAN HAD BEEN EXPECTED.

4. JUDGING BY SOVIET SUPPORTED MEDIA AND COMMENTS BY SOVIETS HERE, MOSCOW'S MAIN OBJECTIVES ARE TO REINFORCE THE SOVIET'S POLITICAL IMPRE, INFLUENCE, AND PRESTIGE IN INDIA AND TO

STRENGTHEN BILATERAL TIES WITH THE INDIA GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL LEADERS, AND MRS. GANDHI. THE SOVIETS HAVE PLAYED HARD TO INDIAN VANITY AND SENSIBILITIES, STRESSING THE USSR'S GREAT ESTEEM FOR INDIA, FOR INDIA'S FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES, AND FOR INDIA'S ROLE IN ASIAN AND WORLD AFFAIRS. THE SOVIETS, THEY EMPHASIZE, DO NOT TAKE INDIA FOR GRANTED. ALSO HIGHLIGHTED ARE THE INDEPENDENCE AND CONSIDERABLE TOUCHINESS AND COUNTERATTACKS ON RECENT CHINESE ACCUSATIONS OF SOVIET ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF INDIA. (UNWITTINGLY PERHAPS, THE CHINESE MAY HAVE DONE THE INDIANS A FAVOR WITH THESE CHARGES.)

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ISO-00 NEAE-00 IO-14 SAJ-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19

NIC-01 AID-20 COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02 TRSE-00 XMB-07

OPIC-12 CIEP-02 LAB-06 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-08 AGR-20

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P R 211445Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8004

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USLO PEKING

USUN NEW YORK 1583

USMISSION NATO

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

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5. SOVIET EMPAHSIS ON BREZHNEV'S ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY
PROPOSAL HAS CONTINUED UNABATED. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS SEEM
KEEN ON PROJECTING THE BREZHNEV PLAN THROUGH HIS VISIT, SOVIETS
HERE HAVE SPOKEN REALISTICALLY OF INDIA'S LIMITED INTEREST AND WE
OURSELVES HAVE NOTED NO INDICATIONS OF CHANGE IN TE INDIAN
GOVERNMENT'S ARMS-LENGTH TREATMENT OF THE PROPOOSAL. WITH THE
INDIANS PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN THE ECONOMIC RETURNS AND THE
THE SOVIETS EMPHASIZING INDIA'S CLOSE POLITICAL ASSOCIATION WITH
THE USSR, THE INTERESTS OF THE TWO DIES MAY BE MESHED IN AN

EXPRESSION OF INDIAN SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN ASIA,
ONE OF THE MAJOR THEMES OF THE BREZHNEV PLAN.

6. WE HAVE NO CLEAR READING ON HOW MILITARY SUPPLIES WILL FIGURE
IN THE DISCUSSIONS, BUT THEY WILL CERTAINLY BE ON THE AGENDA.
TERMS OF SUPPLY AND PAYMENT

ARE BOUND TO BE A KEY FACTOR AND WE
ASSUME THE INDIANS WILL PRESS FOR LIBERALIZATION ON ALL COUNTS.
THEY ARE ALSO LIKELY TO PRESS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT THE SOVIETS
HAVE BEEN WILLING TO PROVIDE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE WOULD NOT
EXPECT THERE TO BE MUCH IF ANY PUBLICITY ABOUT THESE DISCUSSIONS.
SOVIET OFFICIALS HERE HAVE EXPRESSED DOUBT THE SOVIETS WILL
PRESS FOR BASE FACILITIES IN INDIA.

7. POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS WILL COVER THE WORLD BUT FOCUS ON
DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SOVIETS SEEM
READY TO TALK TO THE INDIANS AS WELL ABOUT THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD
EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS AND DETENTE WITH THE WEST. THE CHINESE
SPECTOR WILL, OF COURSE, BE PRESENT. THE SOVIETS SEEM
INTERESTED IN PUTTING TO REST INDIAN APPREHENSIONS THAT DETENTE
AND THE SOVIETS OVERRIDING INTERESTS ELSEWHERE HAVE LESSENED
THEIR CONCERN FOR INDIA, BUT WILL SEEK REASSURANCE THAT
INDO-US AND SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS DO NOT DEVELOP IN A WAY LIKELY
TO ADVERSELY AFFECT SOVIET-INDIA LINKS. BOTH SIDES SHARE COMMON
POSITIONS ON SUFFICIENT ISSUES LIKE ANTI-COLONIALISM, THE ARAB-
ISRAELI CONFLICT, VIETNAM, DISARMAMENT, AND UN MATTERS TO PROVIDE
PLENTY OF GRIST FOR RINGING AFFIRMATIONS OF THEIR SHARED VIEWS AND
OBJECTIVES. BUT IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE POLITICAL TOUR OF THE
HORIZON REALLY WON'T CHANGE VERY MUCH OR RESULT IN SIGNIFICANT
SHIFTS OF INDIAN POLICY (CONCEIVABLY THE INDIANS WILL USE THE
OCCASION TO COME OUT FOR PRINCE SHIHANOUK'S GRUNK IN CAMBODIA IF
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THEY ARE PRESSED BY THE SOVIETS).

8. FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCES HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT SIGNING
A NUMBER OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS. AGAIN, THE INDIANS ARE LIKELY TO
BE MOST INTERESTED IN CONCRETE ASSISTANCE IN KEY INDUSTRIAL AREAS.
THE SOVIETS, WHO HAVE MAINTAINED CONSIDERABLE MOMENTUM IN CULTURAL
AND INFORMATION EXCHANGES IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, ARE LIKELY TO
TRY TO EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE THROUGH SPECIFIC NEW UNDERTAKINGS.
AN AGREEMENT ON INDO-SOVIET INSTITUTES IN EACH COUNTRY IS PENDING
AND MAY BE FORMALIZED ON THIS OCCASION. EMBASSY MOSCOW HAS
MENTIONED A CONSULAR AGREEMENT, AND THE PRESS HERE HAS REFERRED
TO A NEW SHIPPING AGREEMENT.

9. THE SOVIETS ARE BILLING BREZHNEV'S VISIT AS A MAJOR EVENT
WITH GREAT STRESS ON THE PERSONAL IMAGE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE
LEADER. THE INDIANS ARE COOPERATING -- PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET-

ALIGNED COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (CPI) AND LEFTIST CONGRESS FIGURES WHO, OF COURSE, HAVE THEIR OWN VESTED INTERESTS IN MIND. THE SOVIET EMBASSY, CPI, AND SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES ARE GOING ALL OUT TO ENSURE A VAST PUBLIC DISPLAY OF INTEREST AND ENTHUSIASM AND A FLOW OF FAVORABLE PRESS ARTICLES. CPI GENERAL SECRETARY RAO HAS PUBLICLY INSTRUCTED CPI CADRES THAT PLAYING UP BREZHNEV'S VISIT WILL BE THEIR MAIN TASKS WHILE HE IS HERE. A ROUSING AIRPORT WELCOME IS BEING ORGANIZED FOR NOVEMBER 26, WITH A MASS "PEOPLES RECEPTION" UNDER THE AUSPICES OF CONGRESS PARTY PRESIDENT SHARMA AND A RECEPTION BY THE INDO-SOVIET CULTURAL SOCIETY AS FOLLOW-ON PUBLIC DISPLAYS. IN ALL, BREZHNEV IS SCHEDULED TO MAKE SOME FIVE MAJOR SPEECHES (INCLUDING ADDRESS TO A JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT), IN SEVERAL OF WHICH HE WILL TOUCH ON GENERAL INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

10. IN SUM, BREZHNEV'S VISIT SEEMS TO BE SHAPING UP AS THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL VISIT IN DELHI THIS YEAR. THE SOVIETS HAVE EVIDENT DESIRE TO ENSURE THAT THE VISIT IS INDEED THE MAJOR EVENT AND A RESOUNDING SUCCESS, AND THAT IT RESULTS IN A GREAT EFFUSION OF INDO-SOVIET WARMTH, MAY PROVIDE THE INDIANS WITH LEVERAGE IN PRYING OUT OF THE SOVIETS THE ECONOMIC PAYOFF THEY ARE AFTER. HOWEVER, THE INDIANS MAY HAVE TO GIVE TO GET AND A KEY QUESTION MAY BE HOW MUCH

ARE THEY PREPARED TO GIVE POLITICALLY TO MEET SOVIET OBJECTIVES.
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Message Attributes

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30 JUN 2005

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